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the essential traits of the man, the base to that noble column of which wit formed the capital and wisdom the shaft. In the temple of humanity what support it yielded during his life, and how well-proportioned and complete it now stands to the eye of memory, an unbroken and sky-pointing cenotaph on his honored grave!

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ART. V.—1. *The Papal Conspiracy exposed, and Protestantism defended, in the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture.*

By EDWARD BEECHER, D. D. Boston: Stearns & Co. 12mo. pp. 432.

2. *Ecclesiastical Tenures. Speech of JAMES O. PUTNAM, of Buffalo, on the Bill providing for the Vesting of the Title to Church Property in Lay Trustees, delivered in the Senate of New York, January 30, 1855.* Albany: Benthuisen. 8vo. pp. 40.

NEARLY twelve centuries have passed since the Papal hierarchy assumed a rank among the nations of the world. In the beginning it exhibited the weakness of infancy. As it advanced in years it grew in strength, until, at the midnight of the Dark Ages, it overshadowed and controlled all Europe. Those who still submit to its power assign to it an earlier origin. They place the name of the Apostle Peter at the head of their list of Popes, deducing his authority from Jesus Christ; and from Peter they pretend to trace an unbroken succession of Bishops of Rome, in process of time called Popes, to the two hundred and sixty-third Pope, now on the pontifical throne. That Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, or ever resided there, receives, however, no support from authentic history.

In primitive times every Christian church elected its bishop, or overseer, that being the meaning of the Greek word translated bishop. These bishops, as well as the churches they were chosen to oversee, were unconnected with one another, were all equal in power, and so continued through the first three centuries of the Christian era. It is true that younger

paid deference to older churches; and more especially, that village churches paid deference to the church of the metropolis of the province. In process of time, to the metropolitan bishop was conceded a general superintendence over the ecclesiastical affairs of the province, the right to convoke assemblies of the provincial bishops, and to preside over their deliberations; but care was taken so to limit the concessions made as to prevent any extension of his power, and to establish, on a secure basis, the independence of all the other bishops.

History speaks in favorable terms of the virtues and simplicity of the early bishops. They lived too near the Founder of Christianity to have forgotten his precepts, or to have become insensible of the spirit in which they were promulgated. Each lived, too, in the midst of his peculiar flock. He shared their joys and griefs. He knew no higher station than that to which his brethern had raised him, only a little above themselves; he sought no greater happiness than to live and die among them, and when called to meet his and their Master, to leave them improved in all things by the performance of all his duties.

But it could not be so always. Rome—the empire and the city, rulers and people—had already become corrupt, and was verging to its fall. The Christians, pure as they were, and striving to live separate from the world, could not entirely escape contamination. Hypocrites mingled with the flock, and, perceiving that the office of bishop was honorable from the affection with which the incumbent was regarded, and profitable from the munificent rewards bestowed by gratitude for his fidelity, sought and sometimes obtained it; and the Pagans, regarding with jealousy these apostates from their old religion, slandered them, and brought on them the persecutions of the Roman emperors. Yet the number professing the new religion increased rapidly. Gibbon says that in A. D. 300, the Roman empire contained eighteen hundred bishops, and of course as many, perhaps more, churches or congregations; of which number one thousand were in the Greek or Eastern provinces, and eight hundred in the Latin or Western provinces, Constantinople being the centre of the former, and Rome of the latter.

About this time the government of the Church began to indicate a decidedly monarchical tendency. The metropolitan bishops assumed, and were indulged in assuming, more and more authority; and an order of clerks, or priests, was instituted, who were ordained by the bishops, were entirely subject to their control, and of course raised them a step higher above the people or laity. Subsequently four of the metropolitan bishops — those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople — acquired in some way a pre-eminence over the others near and around them, and received the appellation of Patriarchs; and the portions of territory over which they enjoyed this pre-eminence were called Patriarchates. The relative rank of these patriarchates seems to have been a subject of dispute. In the records of a council held at Constantinople in 381, is a decree that the bishop of that city, who was then the last who had received that distinction, should take rank next after the Bishop of Rome, since Constantinople was New Rome; and the Council of Chalcedon, held in 451, confirmed this decision, with the remark, “that the Fathers rightly conceded that rank to the episcopate of ancient Rome, *because Rome was the mistress city*”; from which it is apparent that, if there was at this time a tradition that St. Peter ever resided at Rome and was buried there, the Fathers did not believe it, or did not think it a fact of importance. The period of greatest credulity and superstition had yet to come.

To the few bishops at this time called Patriarchs was given or conceded the sole power to ordain the metropolitans, and to each a general superintendence over his own patriarchate. The institution of this new and higher order of ecclesiastical officers was followed by mischievous consequences. “The history of these centuries,” says Neander, “shows how much of impure, worldly interest became diffused in the Church through the eager thirst and strife of the bishops for precedence of rank.” Very justly could Gregory of Nazianzum say, as he did in 380, “Would to Heaven there were no primacy, no eminence of place, and no tyrannical precedence of ranks, that we might be known by eminence of virtue alone! But as the case now stands, the distinction of a seat at the right

hand or at the left, or in the middle,—at a higher or lower place,—of going before or at the side of each other,—has given rise to many disorders among us, to no salutary purpose whatever, and plunged multitudes in ruin.”

This brief sketch of events places us in the fifth century after the birth of Christ. More than a century has elapsed since the Roman empire was dismembered. Turbulence, disorder, and anarchy have long prevailed throughout the world. The ancient civilization has run its course, and ended in imbecility of mind, the degradation of man, and a universal corruption of manners. Civil wars have afflicted various portions of both empires. The Goths have issued from their dark Northern forests, and rushed over the land, wickedness and weakness before them, unburied corpses and desolation behind them. That which the Goths left have the Huns devoured; that which the Huns left have the Vandals devoured. Never has the world known such intense human misery, such complete desolation, such obliteration of the past, as fell upon it in the course of the fifth century.

The conquerors were all unlearned barbarians, and the conquered, (both classes living intermixed,) after the lapse of a generation or two, became as ignorant as they. Ignorance bred credulity, and superstition had already come with the conquerors from their caves and huts in the gloomy wildernesses. The twilight of the Dark Ages, already perceptible, thickened continually, and foreshadowed the dense gloom which ensued.

It is not necessary to our purpose, which is simply to show that the papal hierarchy has always been hostile to freedom of thought and to intellectual progress, that we should enumerate the several particulars of its tortuous ascent to the pinnacle of power; but it may be expedient to give enough of its history to show the development of its character. It sought constantly to strengthen itself by espousing, in the continual contests between different kings, or between a king and a pretender to his throne, the cause of the party who would engage, in case of success, to wear the crown as a feudatary of Jesus Christ, and to acknowledge the Pope as his vicar-general on earth. It seldom failed of success. The Pope,

as its chief, had but to fulminate his anathema against the king he had determined to oppose, and every believing subject dropped his weapons of war, or used them against his former sovereign. The papal curse severed the tie of allegiance; the papal blessing attached the ligament to another sovereign.

Those who have groped their way through the Dark Ages have expressed the belief that the rule of the Popes was less cruel and oppressive than otherwise would have been the rule of the barbarian kings. Such was probably the fact. The Pope stood forth a powerful arbiter in all causes between all parties. The fear of this arbiter must have often prevented kings from giving to their subjects an opportunity or a disposition to appeal to him. And if, in a few cases, or indeed in all cases, the arbiter decided wrong, a prompt decision may have been better for the people, even in that event, than a protracted contest would have been.

A charge is made against the papal hierarchy, that it resorted to other means, even more objectionable, to acquire power. Certain writings, called decretal letters, and purporting to be written by early Bishops of Rome, whose names have since been inserted in the list of Popes, were ascertained to be in existence about the year 840. They were first quoted as of authority by Pope Nicholas, in 865. The first letter in the series was written in the name of Bishop Clement, the same Clement who is mentioned by Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians. It relates that St. Peter, just before his death, in a long address to the brethren present, appointed and ordained him Bishop of Rome, "giving him the power of binding and loosing which was given to me by my Lord"; and then Clement repeats long charges, given by St. Peter to him, to other officers of the Church, and to the brethren. The letters written in the name of other and later bishops speak of high powers granted to them by St. Peter, and especially that of hearing and deciding appeals from all parties aggrieved. At the same time were produced the records of a Roman council, stated to have been held under Bishop Sylvester, about the year 350, containing numerous canons granting religious and temporal supremacy to the Bishop of Rome.

That these letters and records are false and forged has been perfectly established. They are all in the style of one man. They contain nothing, and speak of nothing, peculiar to the time when the assumed writers actually lived. Words not then in use abound in them, and the style is that of the Middle Age. Writers are quoted in them who did not live till long afterwards; and laws are cited which had not then been passed. It is as if — to refer to a case not unfrequent in our courts — a man should produce a deed bearing date in 1815, and the paper should show the water-mark of 1840. It was such letters and records that Nicholas, said to have been the ablest Pope of the whole number, adopted and quoted. And these are by no means the only forgeries perpetrated by or for the papal hierarchy in the Dark Ages. Yet so ignorant and credulous were the people, and even the nobility, but few of whom could read, and so ready and implicit was their belief of whatever a pope or a bishop might say, that they were not detected till three or four hundred years afterwards. In the mean time they accomplished fully the purpose for which they were contrived. They strengthened, extended, and consolidated the power of the papacy.

This power was raised nearly to its highest elevation by the famous Hildebrand, who, under the name of Gregory VII., occupied the papal chair from 1073 to 1085. Being by nature arrogant, endowed with indomitable will, and restrained by no regard for the rights of others, he stands conspicuous, if not pre-eminent, in the long line of Popes. His twenty-seven maxims, all magnifying the powers of his office, were adopted as guides by his successors. He demanded the submission of emperors and kings to his will. He summoned the Emperor of Germany to appear before him and justify his conduct. The Emperor deposed the Pope. The Pope deposed the Emperor, and added, "I absolve all Christians from the oaths they have taken, or shall hereafter take, to him, and all persons are forbidden to render him services as a king." This kindled a civil war against the Emperor, who at length felt constrained to ask pardon of Hildebrand. He visited him for this purpose, was stopped in the court or ante-room, was stripped of his vestments, clothed in sackcloth, and there, in January, with

naked feet, awaited the Pope's reply. He was required to wait and fast three days before he could be permitted to kiss the Pope's feet. This was too much. The Pope lost friends; the Emperor continued the war, sacked and took Rome; and thereupon the Italians elected another Pope. The death of Hildebrand put an end to the personal conflict; but in the days of Innocent III., "the maxims of Gregory," says Hallam, "had been matured by more than a hundred years, and the right of trampling on the necks of kings had been received, at least among churchmen, as an inherent attribute of the papacy. Rome inspired during the thirteenth century the noonday of papal dominion, the terrors of her ancient name. She was once more the mistress of the world, and kings were her vassals."

It has been seen how gradually, and by what means, the Bishop of Rome, at first holding an office very nearly resembling that of a permanent moderator of a church or congregation,—an office incompatible with the duties of an apostle, who was sent to "preach the Gospel to every creature,"—came to possess, after a succession of ages, a controlling authority over the rulers of nations. Its means were usurpations over, and concessions by, a people, at first pious and simple-hearted, afterwards, to an extreme degree, ignorant, credulous, and superstitious. It is now our purpose to show what were its distinguishing characteristics, and what its objects and principles of action.

Its most distinguishing characteristic was its love of precedence and of power; in other words, of control over the actions of men. This passion is natural to all, or to most men; but they differ in the mode of obtaining their object. The military hero strives to obtain it through fear of harm to the body, or of destruction to property. He points his sword at the breast, or aims his cannon at the city. The papal hierarchy sought, and seeks, to obtain it through fear of mental or spiritual suffering in this world and in the world to come. It frightens men by describing the torments of hell, and declares that the Church is the only way of salvation from these eternal torments,—that all must endure them who do not adopt its creed, and place themselves under its jurisdiction. It incul-



cates also the duty of frequent attendance on the ministrations of the Church, and teaches that the long neglect of this duty, without excuse or absolution, subjects one to the penalty of excommunication. This denunciation has a terrible power over Catholics who are believing Christians, as well as over those who are not; for this ecclesiastical process inflicts temporal as well as future punishment. It casts them out of the Church, deprives them of the right to participate in any of its ceremonies, or to enjoy any of its privileges, — all of which are essential to salvation. It forbids every one to have intercourse with them, to receive them into his house, or to eat at the same table; and when dead, it denies them the solemn rites of Christian burial. And the same punishment, modified according to circumstances, is inflicted, not only for the commission of offences against the canons of the Church, but for disobedience of the orders of superiors.

The constitution of the hierarchy is monarchical, despotic. It gives to its head vast powers, — in ecclesiastical affairs unlimited. It has established a regular gradation of authority from the Pope to the lowest priest. It makes every officer but one a degraded instrument of another; it makes every one an arrogant controller of all below; and it is a trite and true remark, that the exercise of despotic power extinguishes the desire to promote the happiness or improvement of others. We call on history to describe to us the character of the Popes; to tell us which of them, and how many, have been distinguished for their enterprises of philanthropy; to tell us what they have done with the hundreds of millions “snatched from the hand of labor” wherever it could be reached; to tell us what care they have taken even of the patrimony of St. Peter, — once the garden of the world, now swarming with beggars, infested with brigands, and reeking with licentiousness.

The claim, always insisted on by the hierarchy, and almost always submitted to by the laity, except where forbidden by law, that all lands, devoted to religious or charitable uses, though purchased and paid for by the laity, shall be conveyed to, and held by, the bishop of the diocese, is one of the modes of increasing the power of the hierarchy and holding the people in subjection. It secures to the bishop the appointment of

the priest, and to the priest entire independence of those who pay him, however unfit or disagreeable he may be, and however tyrannical and partial in the performance of his parochial services. By a speech delivered last winter in the legislature of New York, it appears that the provincial council of Catholic Bishops in the United States, held at Baltimore in 1849, ordained "that all churches, and all other ecclesiastical property, which have been acquired by donations, or the offerings of the faithful, for religious or charitable use, *belong* to the bishop of the diocese; unless it shall be made to appear, and be confirmed by writings, that it was granted to some religious order of monks, or to some congregation of priests, for their use." Most of the trustees holding such property thereupon, on demand of the bishops, conveyed it to them, amounting in value, including new purchases, in the single county of Erie, to more than one million of dollars. But one set of trustees out of a large number, those of the Church of St. Louis, at Buffalo, had the courage to stand firm against that which all knew impended over them, and the fear of which subdued the others, and refused, and persisted in refusing to do so, although the Pope despatched his nuncio, Bedini, to induce them to comply. "For simply refusing," say they, in their petition to the legislature, "to violate the trust law of our State, we have been subjected to the pains of excommunication, and our names held up to infamy and reproach. For this cause, too, have the entire congregation been placed under ban. To our members the holy rites of baptism and of burial have been denied. The marriage sacrament has been refused. The priest is forbidden to minister at our altars. In sickness, and at the hour of death, the holy consolations of religion are withheld. To the Catholic Churchman, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the magnitude of such deprivations." Surely the enforcement of this claim is not only a powerful restraint on the freedom of the mind, but an efficient hinderance to the worship of God according to the dictates of conscience.

Although the most usual and the chosen mode by which the papal hierarchy seeks to obtain control over men is by acting on the mind or will, yet it does not, when it may seem expedient, hesitate to resort to violence,—to the infliction of

extreme bodily suffering, and even death,—in order to accomplish its object. Of this truth, the persecution of the Waldenses, the Albigenses, and the Huguenots, the dungeons and *autos da fé* of the Inquisition, and the fires of Smithfield, bear witness. These may not have been intended so much for the punishment of heresy as for terror to others. History tells us, they had the usual effect of terror on minds not endowed with heroic fortitude; and they may therefore be added to the list of means, wicked like the rest, employed to obtain control over the mind. Let it not be said, for it ought not to be said, in reply to these charges, that Protestants also, after having long been victims, have resorted to persecution, even to the stake. One iniquity cannot be set off against another; and the burning of tens is not to be used, even by way of retort, against the burning of thousands.

The Pope, assisted by a council of bishops, claims the right, and it is of course conceded to him by most Catholics, to prescribe articles of faith, which every one must believe, or profess to believe, or suffer the penalty of eternal damnation. This right has been quite recently exercised. It never was, and never can be, exercised without doing immeasurable injury to man. It prohibits inquiry, checks improvement, prevents progress, benumbs the intellect. And if the article be erroneous, all the consequences of belief in error, which many hold to be terrible, must follow. “If it be erroneous!” exclaims the hierarchy; “that cannot be, for the Pope, advised by a council, is infallible.” We are not surprised that the hierarchy stoutly claims for its head the attribute of infallibility. If not made in sincerity, it is unquestionably made with the hope and intent that it shall be believed. It is well known that, unless sustained by belief in this claim, the lofty superstructure must vanish. To admit that he is fallible, is equivalent to the admission that he has not, and never had, a divine commission, and is, of course, an arrant impostor. We shall not attempt to prove that he is fallible.

The multiplicity of vows and oaths imposed by the hierarchy, besides those for the faithful performance of official duties, are strong and permanent fences around the mind, confining it within limits over which it must not dare to pass, and pre-

venting it from developing or using its faculties. What progress can the mind make when the sphere of its activity is thus bounded? What progress did it make for the many centuries before Luther proclaimed freedom of thought, and the God-given, inalienable right of private judgment? Since then how inspiriting has been its activity, how rapid and glorious its progress, in all Protestant countries! How idle, stationary, stagnant, has it remained where the hierarchy has continued to bear sway!—the one portion of the earth's surface reminding us of the powerful, ever-advancing Gulf-Stream,—the other of the weedy, motionless Sargasso Sea.

Another mode by which the hierarchy acquires control over the mind is through the rite of confession. The penitents, whether men or women, must disclose to the priest, in private, every sinful act or thought, every emotion, desire, or aversion, and must answer every question that the priest may think proper to ask. He thus acquires a knowledge, not only of all their sins, but of all their weaknesses and propensities. This knowledge gives him almost resistless power over the penitent, and if he is too pious and too pure to use it for his own purposes, he is bound to use it, whenever he may, for the benefit of the Church. It enables him to perceive the earliest approach to doubt, the earliest tendency to freedom of thought, and to apply the expedient corrective. Other evils, even shocking crimes, have arisen from the observance of this rite, especially since the priests were forbidden to marry,—evils regretted, doubtless, by the hierarchy, but to be prevented only by surrendering that benefit to the Church which results from the confessional, and for which it was instituted.

On the invention of printing, the hierarchy perceived that this wonderful art must become its most powerful antagonist. It furnished another avenue than preaching, of which it then had the monopoly, for access to the people; and the clergy trembled for their creed and their power. Under the pretence of preventing the spread of what they assumed to be heresy, they ordained that no book should be printed, or sold, or even kept, unless it had been examined and approved by an officer of the hierarchy, designated for the purpose, under pain of the greater excommunication and a fine. They also appointed a com-

mittee, which has been since often renewed, to make a list of books deemed dangerous to be read, and ordained that this list, on being approved by the Pope, should be published, and that every person who should read any book contained in it should suffer the penalty of excommunication, in its greatest severity. They ordained, also, that no one should read the Sacred Scriptures, the supposed source of that faith which all Catholics are compelled to believe, unless expressly permitted by a bishop or priest, and that, if any one should read them or possess them without such permission, "he should be incapable of receiving absolution of his sins"; and in some countries severe temporal punishment was also inflicted. The latest edition of this "*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*" which we have seen was printed in 1826, and contained, by estimation, the titles of more than *seven thousand* different works. They were certainly not all on sacred subjects, — (we do not know that half of them were,) — among them being Lord Bacon "*De Augmentis Scientiarum*," Locke's "*Essay on the Human Understanding*," Grotius "*On the Law of War and Peace*," Milton's "*Paradise Lost*," "*Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*," and many historical works.

We need not, we are sure, expatiate at large on the injury to the human mind which must result from withholding from it so much of its appropriate aliment, and from depriving it of the opportunity of exercising its noblest faculty, reason, which God gave to be used in deciding between conflicting doctrines, not only in religion, but in morals and science. It takes from man all merit in belief, even if the doctrine which he is obliged to believe is true; it checks all ambition of self-improvement; it chills all ennobling aspirations; and, by paralyzing the mental, leaves without restraint or guide the bodily faculties.

Truly and forcibly does Macaulay say, when speaking of Rome : —

"To stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object. Throughout Christendom, whatever advance has been made in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life, has been made in spite of her, and has everywhere been in inverse proportion to her power. The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under

her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what, four hundred years ago, they actually were, shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of papal domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation; the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages, to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent around them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise."

It is often said that the papal hierarchy has modified and modernized its creed, and renounced some at least of the most obnoxious powers which it once exercised. We have no evidence of this. No Pope, nor council, nor bishop, has ever confirmed the statement, or acknowledged it to be true; and the admission or assertion of any individual, or any number of individuals, is not to be received as evidence, unless delivered *ex cathedra*, and authenticated by the seal of the fisherman's ring. That such a renunciation ever has been, or ever will be made, by any one competent to make it, is incredible; for it would amount to a disclaimer of the Pope's infallibility, thus demolishing the only foundation on which his authority rests.

Is not the power of excommunication, that terrible engine of punishment, still claimed and exercised? Within a year it has poured misery into the bosoms of hundreds in the State of New York. On every Maundy Thursday was read till recently at Rome, in the presence of the Pope, the Bull *In cœna Domini*, containing "excommunications and anathemas of all

heretics, and of all persons who disturb or oppose the jurisdiction of the holy see; and after the reading, the Pope threw a burning torch in the public place to denote the thunder of his anathema." In 1809, the Pope excommunicated the Emperor Napoleon, and virtually, if not expressly, absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Did he not, in 1794, "condemn and reprobate" the acts of the *ex parte* Council of Pistoia, which approved a previous declaration of the French clergy, that the Pope had not the power to depose kings, nor to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, — thus, by necessary implication, claiming this power; — and later, in 1851, anathematize a book written in Peru, to refute the doctrine that "he who governs in spiritual things, governs also in temporal"? And even later, in July last, the government of Sardinia having passed a law, as the Pope recites, "to suppress almost all the monastic and religious communities, the collegiate churches, &c., and to hand over their revenues and property to the free disposition of the civil power," he declared this law to be "null and void," and excommunicated the king and parliament which passed it. Moreover, the government of Spain having, as the Pope again recites, in the same month of July, "passed a law ordaining the sale of church property, and issued various decrees forbidding bishops to confer holy orders," &c., he, "in virtue of our [his] apostolic authority," abrogated and declared null and void the law and decrees aforesaid.

Though the papal hierarchy has renounced none of its pretensions, a great change has taken place in many parts of the Christian world; and this change has doubtless proved a restraint on its conduct. It has exercised less frequently the powers which it once exercised often. Its thunder has not been so frequent nor so loud. Well remembering that its power has had alternate periods of decline and restoration, it waits, and waits patiently, taking care not to excite alarm, for the time when the thunder of the Vatican shall be again efficient, not only to terrify the ignorant and credulous, but to rally under its banner the selfish, ambitious, and sceptical. That it is a political as well as a religious party, its whole career gives manifest and forcible testimony.

We make no charge against the Romish religion, nor do we feel the slightest hostility towards its professors as such. We have the same regard for our neighbor who believes in transubstantiation, in purgatory, in the invocation of saints, in the immaculate conception of Mary, as for him whose belief is identical with ours. We do not know nor think that so believing, if his belief is sincere, makes him less honest, less benevolent, less patriotic. But not ranking among religious tenets the belief that any man, or body of men, has a perfect right to interpret to us the will of God, and to insist that such interpretation is imperative, we do feel, we confess, and have long felt, hostility to the papal hierarchy. This feeling is justified and confirmed by facts of which all history is full, and by results which are continually made manifest. We are confident that it does not arise from religious prejudice. It has a moral rather than a religious, a political rather than a moral origin,—using the word *political* in its primitive and best meaning. We are sure that the claims of the papal hierarchy are inconsistent with political liberty, with self-government, with free institutions, with intellectual progress, and with the elevation of the human race. We reject its arrogant assumption, that the Romish Church is the only true church; and its teaching, that all are doomed to eternal perdition who stand without its pale. We deny its right to found a claim to precedence on any doctrine or custom of the early Christians. On the contrary, we find in authentic history conclusive proof that this claim is founded only on usurpation over ignorance and credulity, at a time when the whole world was in eclipse; and we charge it with taking superstition to its aid, and using all the power and influence which, by any means whatever, it has acquired, not to enlighten the mind, but to thicken and prolong intellectual darkness, in order to exercise its sway the more easily and despotically. We do not deny to the members of the hierarchy the possession of the common attributes of humanity,—the best of them; but these are turned from their appropriate function by the delusive doctrine (we think we should be pardoned for using a harsher term) of Jesuitism, that acts which would otherwise be wicked become praiseworthy and



holy,—“pious frauds,”—if performed for the benefit of the Church. We do not ask that the law shall make any distinction between the Romanist and the Protestant; we insist that both shall be allowed to enjoy equal and complete religious liberty; and we trust that the State governments will not permit any man, or any class of men, belonging to the clerical profession, to possess any such power over property intended for religious or charitable uses, as may enable him or them to exercise the slightest authority over others in religious ceremonies, or in the worship of God.

We do not hesitate to call the attention of the friends of freedom, as well as of theologians, to the work of Dr. Beecher. He has gathered, and given to the public, a multitude of facts in relation to the exercise of powers, temporal as well as ecclesiastical, by the Pope, showing his claim to be the appointed vicar-general of our Saviour on earth; has expatiated on the intolerance, immorality, and impiety of the priesthood; and charges the Romish Corporation, as he styles what is usually called the Roman Catholic Church, with having formed and matured a conspiracy to restore and annex America to the papal see. From the vigor of his attacks and the severity of his censures, sometimes transgressing the bounds of temperate discussion, we perceive that he heartily despises that coward cant of candor, which betrays a fear of blame for saying aught against any religious sect, even if the purpose and effect of saying it should be to secure to all men the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience.

We think there can be no question that the papal hierarchy intends, expects, and is acting with a set purpose, to obtain a firm foothold, and ultimately, at some period near or remote, a predominance in these United States. In this it is but acting in compliance with a necessity imposed by its constitution and creed. Its functionaries have always been propagandists, and would be obviously false to the belief they profess,—that there is no salvation out of the pale of their Church,—if they should cease to be so. They are but using instruments contrived and furnished for that purpose, and embracing opportunities auspicious for its accomplishment. Was it not for

this purpose principally that the Pope, forty years ago, revived the order of the Jesuits, an order once rejected by all Europe, and now distrusted and abhorred in many parts of it? What means the constant influx of members of this order into these States? What inference must be drawn from the multiplication of Jesuit colleges and seminaries of education, in which nothing is taught tending to impart independence and vigor to the mind? And is not all reasonable doubt removed by the boasts, occasionally uttered by organs of the hierarchy,—to what degree accredited organs we pretend not to know,—that the time will assuredly come when this country, which once belonged to the Pope, will be again subjected to his control?

We are not surprised that these confident boasts, and the inauspicious signs which constantly force themselves on our attention, have produced alarm. We know that an inordinate thirst for power has ever kept the hierarchy restless and active; and that, in resorting to modes and means for that end, its members are not restrained by any conscientious scruples, believing that whatever may be done for the benefit of their Church, the holy and only true Church, is permitted, if not commanded. They find here subjects to operate on, and agents to work with, well adapted to insure success, if success is possible. There is not among us, it is true, so much of ignorance, credulity, and superstition as prevailed in Europe in the Dark Ages; but more exists than is generally supposed, and the comparative amount is constantly increasing. The delegated leaders have, and will continue to have, for efficient aids and instruments, purely selfish ambition, and zealous, infuriated party spirit, reckless of aught save present success. They cannot have forgotten the lessons of their own experience, and as, in the ages of barbarism, on every occasion of aiding a rival claimant to a throne, they advanced a step in their long ascent to supreme power, so here and now they may offer such aid to one of many aspirants to a position much more elevated, demanding and receiving a similar reward. The past history of the republic gives us no assurance of absolute safety; and we do not therefore feel inclined to ridicule all apprehensions of danger. We rather welcome and cherish them as indications that the love of civil and religious liberty is still fresh in the

hearts of many among us, and that there are sentinels on our watch-towers who will not cease to warn us against that apathetic confidence of safety which invites danger.

It must be a comforting reflection to those who have no fear of the ultimate predominance of the papal hierarchy in this country, and regret what they consider unfounded accusations, that all the efforts which could properly be made to prevent that predominance are appropriate and even necessary efforts to avert the lesser evil, and yet a great evil, of such increase of this power as would perpetuate as they are, and multiply among us, a numerous population, whose intellectual faculties would be "cabined, cribbed, confined," — whose volitions would not be their own, — whose conduct would be guided by a single will, whenever that will should determine to guide it, — and who, stationary themselves, would, instead of aiding, retard the upward progress of man, and the onward progress of the republic.

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ART. VI. — *Der Jaköbiner Klub. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Parteien und der politischen Sitten im Revolutions-Zeitalter, von J. W. ZINKEISEN.* Berlin: Erster Theil. 1852. Zweiter Theil. 1853. [The Jacobin Club. A Contribution to the History of Parties and Political Morals during the Revolutionary Period, by J. W. Zinkeisen. 2 vols.]

It required all the industry and research for which the Germans are proverbial, to prepare this most valuable contribution to historical literature. The work is thorough and accurate, and its author is obviously a complete master of his subject, to which he has devoted years of labor in collecting and digesting the mass of memoirs, journals, and fly-sheets, in which the history of the Jacobin Club is, of necessity, principally to be found. He seems, indeed, to have sought information in every possible quarter, occasionally drawing a few items even from American sources, and once, at least, from the reports of the insane asylums of Paris, to which retreats, indeed, some